1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men.

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly.

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund.

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known,
however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become
671 extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. III.

33 in. Photograph No. 7 is the picture of one of the most sturdy men of the tribe.

142 Height. Of men, from 5 ft. 4 in. to 6 ft. 1 in.; average about 141 5 ft. 8 in. Of women, from 4 ft. 10 in. to 5 ft. 4½ in.; average about 5 ft. 1 in. There are no very short people.

Weight. Of men from about 110 to 155 lbs. There are reasons why the weight of women cannot be accurately ascertained; but it is believed to vary between 90 and 130 lbs.

142 Shoulders. Angular, never sloping, generally with a flat back.

Muscles. Never large; hard rather than full; some decidedly below the average.

The general mass of the tribe are fairly, often well grown; straight and lank, without deformity, but without any really fine people.

The men's carriage is erect, free and unconstrained, without being either bold or athletic. 157 Their manners and tone of voice are self-possessed, suave, quiet, and solemn: the women substituting a pleasing cheerfulness for solemnity. When quiescent, their expression and carriage has much oriental repose in it.

The temperament of such a people as has just been described would in the main be fibrous, with some of the sanguine or the nervous in individuals; especially so in the female sex, many of whom I noticed show a considerable amount of the nervous with advancing years. Such a national temperament is more suited to the display of qualities requiring muscular energy for their support, than of those in which the subtilty of intellect would take part.

141 We find the cranium, taken as a whole, to be of an average size; comprising certain very strong, and certain equally and lamentably weak, points of form. The singular uniformity in contour of all the heads has already been observed upon.

000 In order to form a correct, and therefore complete judgment of a man's character, it is not sufficient to take a

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.

CHAP. IV.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Âdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Âdabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
583 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Âdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of oppositeness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike perseverancy; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

CHAP. VII.

intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—porra[1] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda, however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[1] Porra = *outside*.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 12·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
" readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
609 " been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
157 peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
609 at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-
humour.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it. 197

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to every-day life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers 157 262 241 181

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, it is said to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more